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Experts Say U.S. and Israel Have a History of Cooperation on Intelligence

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 27 — Relations between intelligence agencies of the United States and Israel are normally marked by the closest cooperation, but over the years there have been occasional reports that Israelis spied on Americans or engaged in clandestine operations in this country.

The relationship has come in for special scrutiny since Jonathan Jay Pollard, a civilian counterintelligence analyst for the Navy, was arrested last week and accused of selling classified code information to the Israeli Government.

'Pretty Clear Understanding'

If Mr. Pollard did what he is accused of doing, it would, by most accounts, be a deviation from the norm for relations between the two countries. William B. Quandt, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who served on the staff of the National Security Council in the Nixon and Carter Administrations, said today, "We did not run agents in Israel, and we had a pretty clear understanding that they did not run agents here."

Wolf Blitzer, Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post, said in a new book, "Despite infractions on both sides, U.S. and Israeli intelligence organizations have maintained a discreet arrangement since the 1950's, banning covert operations against each other."

In the book, "Between Washington and Jerusalem: A Reporter's Notebook," Mr. Blitzer said that cooperation between the Central Intelligence Agency and Israel's foreign intelligence service, the Mossad, was "so close that the two organizations do not really have to spy on each other."

American intelligence officials and former officials who were interviewed generally confirmed that assessment. If anything, they said, the working relationship has grown closer in the last few years, with the United States giving Israel access to more reconnaissance satellite data.

In the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Blitzer said, the United States and Israel reached an understanding to end covert operations against each other.

A classified study prepared by the C.I.A. in 1979 said two of the principal goals of Israeli intelligence were the "collection of information on secret U.S. policy or decisions" concerning Israel and the "collection of scientific intelligence in the United States and

other developed countries."

To obtain scientific and technical intelligence, it said Israeli agents had made "attempts to penetrate certain classified defense projects in the United States and other Western nations." The report did not give examples.

Agents Under Cover

In addition, the study said that Israeli agents sometimes "operate at the United Nations under diplomatic and journalistic cover." A major purpose of such operations, it said, is to collect information on Arab countries.

Cooperation between intelligence officials in the United States and Israel has been close at least since the 1950's. According to some accounts, Israeli agents obtained and provided to the C.I.A. a copy of the speech in which Nikita S. Khrushchev, then the Soviet leader, denounced Stalin before the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956.

In the 1960's and early 1970's, James J. Angleton, who was chief of counterintelligence operations for the C.I.A., supervised an extensive exchange of information with Israel. He declined today to discuss the exchange.

Although the two countries still share large amounts of information, especially about terrorism, American officials said the Israelis had been frustrated by the United States' refusal to provide certain information on troop deployments by pro-American Arab countries, including Jordan and Egypt.

Some Israelis have said the United States did not turn over all the intelligence information that would be helpful in protecting Israel. In other cases, they said, the information was not provided as promptly as they believed necessary, so Israelis undertook additional aerial reconnaissance missions over Arab countries. The Israelis have proposed direct transmission of pictures from American reconnaissance satellites to ground stations in Israel, but the United States has not agreed to such an arrangement.

In his memoirs, Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, said that he had urged Mr. Carter to "bug" the cottages of Israeli and Egyptian officials at the summit meeting at Camp David, Md., in 1978.

Mr. Brzezinski reported that Mr. Carter, "in what I felt was an excess of chivalry, flatly forbade that." As a result, he said, "we

did not have adequate intelligence on STAT transpired in the Egyptian or Israeli delegations — though all of them took the precaution of conducting their own business on the porches of their cabins, and not inside."

In advance of the meeting, Mr. Brzezinski said, only a handful of American officials were informed of plans to convene the session. Explaining the desire for secrecy before the Camp David session, Mr. Brzezinski wrote in his journal, "The Administration is permeated with those who are only too eager to share information with the Israelis." He did not name the people he had in mind.

In another incident, critics of Israel have asserted that Israeli intelligence may have been connected to the mysterious disappearance of weapons-grade uranium from a plant run by a private company in Apollo, Pa., in the 1960's.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and other Federal agencies have exhaustively examined such allegations, but have not found evidence to prove the charges or to show what did happen to the uranium. Executives of the company that ran the plant have denied diverting uranium to Israel.